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ABSTRACT

Divided into two phases, the study investigated the attitudes toward child abuse and neglect and child rearing practices held by Mexican American migrant farmworkers. The first phase involved a brief literature review and an assessment of the problem. During this phase also, the study's broad general goals were divided into 6 categories which led to the development of 17 specific goals. From these goals, a set of hypotheses and a listing of descriptive facts to be determined from the data were developed. In the second phase, a questionnaire was developed and a sample of 500 families was drawn from families participating in Head Start programs throughout the state. The questionnaire included six sections: migrant lifestyle, the child's education, the child's socialization, child rearing practices, attitudes toward child abuse and neglect issues, and awareness and usage of social and child protective services. Families who preferred it were interviewed in Spanish. Data indicated that Texas migrants were less tolerant of abusive conduct than the general Texas population; that Mexican American migrants favored a discipline-oriented home, patterned after their own rearing; and that migrants were aware of most social programs; yet were not very inclined to use a number of these services. (NQA)

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A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILD ABUSE AND CHILD REARING AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN MIGRANTS IN TEXAS

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A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILD ABUSE AND CHILD REARING AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN MIGRANTS IN TEXAS

Prepared by

The Texas Migrant Council, Inc.

National Minority Resource Center on

Child Abuse and Neglect

for Mexican Americans

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

The mistreatment of children has become a national social issue. Public attention has been focused on child abuse and neglect by the press as well as numerous social agencies. The American public has been shocked and dismayed by countless reports of incidences of brutality waged against the nations' children. State governments across the country have instituted programs to protect children from abuse and neglect and numerous studies have been conducted concerning the problem. Answers have been sought to questions about what constitutes abuse and neglect and how to deal with abusive parents. Although the body of general knowledge about this social problem is expanding, little is known of specific population groups. This study represents an attempt to investigate attitudes toward abuse and neglect which are held by one particular group – Mexican American migrants.

Several broad types of explanations have been proposed concerning the causes of abuse behavior. One such explanation suggest that abuse is a consequence of economic distress. In our society the possession of money is not only important for what it can purchase but also for what it signifies – the measure of a person's worth. Those lacking money may experience the kind of psychic pain that comes with self-esteem. The sort of frustration and stress experienced by people in this situation may increase the probability of child abuse. Another type of explanation involves cultural and attitudinal differences among groups of people. Here abuse is, to some degree, a matter of definition. What some see as abuse, others view as acceptable discipline of children. Thus, attitudes regarding the definition of abuse become important.

In this study we will investigate both of these general explanatory models by examining a particularly distinct sub-group – Mexican American migrant farmworkers. This group is, on the one hand, quite poor; perhaps one of the lowest income segments of the entire society. This might lead to a prediction of high levels of abuse. However, Mexican Americans are a very family oriented subculture. Children are highly valued and are cherished by the family. This would lead to a prediction of low levels of abuse.

By studying attitudes about child abuse among Mexican American migrant farmworkers, we can come to a much better understanding of the role of cultural and economic factors in child abuse and neglect.

The project was divided into several phases. During the first phase, planning of the project was accomplished through a brief review of the literature and an assessment of the problem. Several major studies were examined including one which examined the definition of child abuse [1], a statewide study of attitudes toward child abuse [2] and an examination of cases of reported child abuse among Texas Mexican American migrants. [3] Also, during this phase the broad general goals of the study were divided into six categories which led to the development of seventeen specific goals. From these goals a set of hypotheses were developed along with a listing of descriptive facts that were to be determined from the data.

The second phase of the project involved the establishment of a methodology and sample. A questionnaire was developed and a sample of 500 was drawn from families participating in Texas Migrant Council, Inc., Head Start programs throughout the state, and families participating in other Head Start programs of Project Bravo in the El Paso, Texas area and the Tri-County Head Start pro-

gram in the Valley. Interviewers were selected and trained and interviews were conducted.

Once the data were collected, they were compiled, coded and key punched. The data were then analyzed by the Social Science Research Center of Corpus Christi State University in Corpus Christi, Texas.

In General, the data indicated that Texas migrants were less tolerant of abusive conduct than the general Texas population. In addition, the data seemed to show that Mexican American migrants tend to favor a discipline oriented home which is patterned after their own rearing. Also, the data indicate that migrants are aware of most social programs, yet are not very inclined to use a number of these services. From the data examined certain conclusions were drawn, including a call for further research, and identification of a need to investigate patterns of abuse.

PROJECT PLANNING

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PROJECT PLANNING

Phase one of the project involved a review of the literature and an analysis of the problem of child abuse among Mexican American migrant families. This phase was designed to produce an overall picture of the problem and to set the stage for the study.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature on child abuse and neglect, like the concern over the phenomenon itself, has grown rapidly over the last decade. Marian Eskin, in her 1980 U.S. Department of Justice report, reviewed over seventy publications on child abuse and neglect. She reports that although child abuse is not a new problem, what is new is that "it has been formally recognized and defined, reporting laws have been mandated, its incidence is being reported and tabulated, its pathology is being explored and methods of prevention and treatment are being implemented." [4] There is limited material, however, which is directly related in general to child abuse among Mexican American migrant workers and specifically to their attitudes toward abuse and neglect.

The three studies examined in the course of this project provided some insight on this question. The first involved an examination of community attitudes toward abuse and neglect and was designed to foster a more definitive definition of the phenomenon. The sample was drawn from the Los Angeles metropolitan area and included almost 17% Hispanic respondents. The second study was conducted state-wide in Texas and included 10.8% Spanish surnamed subjects. In this project, attitudes toward abuse and neglect were studied. In addition, respondents were asked to report their awareness of incidences of abuse and neglect. In the final study, individual case reports of abuse and neglect were examined. Here the population included Mexican American migrants only and included 140 cases.

The Los Angeles study, [5] conducted by Giovannoni and Becerra, was completed in 1979. A random sample was selected from the L.A. metropolitan area and some 1065 interviews were conducted. Respondents were given vignettes to read (or have read to them) which described various activities including abusive and neglectful actions. Respondents then rated the vignettes on a nine-point scale with nine being the most serious form of abuse and neglect. The vignettes were categorized by type of abuse or neglect and overall average ratings were tabulated.

The results indicated that Hispanic respondents were less tolerant of abuse and neglect than Anglo respondents. Of the 78 vignettes tested, total agreement between Anglos and Spanish regarding the seriousness of a particular activity occurred in only seven vignettes. In 54 vignettes (or 69%) ratings of Hispanics were significantly lower than those of whites. In summary, the Los Angeles study provided insight into general views toward abuse and neglect and shed light particularly on the difference between Hispanics and whites.

Allen Sapp and David Carter [6] conducted a study of Texas residents' attitudes toward child abuse and neglect in 1978. Their research was based on a mail-out survey in which 1,339 persons responded, of which 10.8% were Spanish surnamed. Unlike the Los Angles study, the Texas project solicited opinions on whether or not a specific act was or was not thought to be abuse. Questions were asked concerning acts of physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse and neglect of children.

In all, some 42 questions of abuse and neglect were asked. In addition, Sapp and Carter asked a series of questions concerning incidence of abuse and neglect.

The results of the Texas study indicated that a large majority of respondents believed that 36 of the 42 activities were abusive and neglectful. Almost half of the activities were considered abuse by over 90% of the respondents. Concerning incidence of abuse, 31.2% reported that they were aware of abused and neglected children in their community. (Although the Texas study did not compare attitudes toward abuse by ethnicity, such a comparison was made in this project and that data will be reported in the results section of this report).

The final study reviewed was conducted by Dr. Lex Berrios.[7] In his assessment of child abuse and neglect among Mexican American migrants, Berrios examined Texas Migrant Council files of 193 cases of reported abuse. Through his examination he attempted to describe the etiology of abuse and neglect among migrants and made an assessment of the services rendered to the clients.

Berrios' etiology consisted of demographic characteristics of migrants, definite situations of the family environment and specific behavior patterns of abuse and neglect. His assessment of services were categorized as preventive, supplemental, and substitutive. Berrios concluded, among other things, that "in general, deplorable social environments, coupled with parental inability to cope with stressful situations tend to precipitate a series of family crisis that usually lead to child abuse and neglect." In addition, traditional services designed "to service a sedentary population are not generally useful to transient people" like migrant workers.[8]

ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM OF CHILD ABUSE AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN MIGRANT FAMILIES

The basic conclusion drawn from the review of the literature was that few data were available on the attitudes and opinions of Mexican American migrant families toward child abuse and neglect. Furthermore, little is known of the child rearing practices this group employs. The data which is available on migrant families is generally limited to such areas of interest as migrant lifestyle, family demographics, etc.[9] and in some cases attitudes toward issues such as crime and justice.[10]

Based on this lack of data, the National Minority Resource Center on Child Abuse and Neglect for Mexican Americans (the principle sponsor for this project) and its parent organization, the Texas Migrant Council, Inc., resolved to study child abuse and neglect.

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, Children's Bureau, Administration for Children, Youth and Family, Office of Human Development Services, United States Department of Health and Human Services made possible Federal Grant # 90-C-1743 for the continuation of the National Minority Resource Center on Child Abuse and Neglect for Mexican Americans sponsored by the Texas Migrant Council, Inc. The funding period began on September 30, 1978 and extended through September 29, 1982.

As part of the continuation proposal submitted by the Resource Center for review by the National Center, the following objective II was included: "to create, improve and expand the participation of Mexican American migrant advocacy agencies and other culturally relevant organizations, programs and individuals in identifying, preventing and treating child abuse and neglect within

the Mexican American migrant population." With this objective in mind, the Resource Center proposed a work plan to implement this goal that would include the conducting of a study on the issues of child abuse and neglect in the Mexican American migrant community. The study would provide for interviewing a specific number of migrant families in a 15 county area with a total migrant population of approximately 300,000 persons.

For the purpose of this study, the following definitions were adopted:

(a) "Child" means a person under the age of 18.

(b) An "abused or neglected child" means a child whose physical or mental health or welfare is harmed or threatened with harm by the acts or omissions of his/her parent or other person responsible for the child's welfare.

(c) "Harm" to a child's health or welfare can occur when the parent or other person responsible for the child's welfare:

(i) Inflicts, or allows to be inflicted, upon the child, physical or mental injury, including injuries sustained as a result of excessive corporal punishment; or

(i i) Commits, or allows to be committed, against the child, a sexual offense, as defined by state law; or

(iii) Fails to supply the child with adequate food, clothing, shelter, education (as defined by state law) or health care, though financially able to do so or offered financial or other reasonable means to do so; for the purpose of this Act, "Adequate Health Care" includes any medical or non-medical health care permitted or authorized under state law; or

(iv) Abandons the child, as defined by state law; or

(v) Fails to provide the child with adequate care, supervision, or guardianship by specific acts or omissions of a similarly serious nature requiring the intervention of the child protective services or a court.

(d) "Threatened harm" means a substantial risk of harm;

(e) "A person responsible for a child's welfare" includes the child's parent; guardian; foster parent; an employee of a public or private residential home institution, or agency; or other person responsible for the child's welfare.

(f) "Physical injury" means death, disfigurement, or the impairment of any bodily organ.

(g) "Mental injury" means an injury to the intellectual or psychological capacity of a child as evidenced by an observable and substantial impairment in the child's ability to function within a normal range of performance and behavior, with due regard to the child's culture.

The objectives of the project were to generate data on Mexican American migrant families' (1) child rearing practices, (2) roles relative to child rearing, (3) experiences with the child welfare delivery system and with the social services provided by the Welfare Department, (4) parent's feelings toward specific types of child abuse and neglect, (5) integration within the social culture, and (6) demographics concerning differences in levels of income and economic conditions.

From these broad goals, a series of descriptive facts to be determined from the data were established:

1. The extent to which respondents perceive abuse in the community.
2. Describe types of discipline used by respondents.

3. Describe who in the family administers discipline to children.
4. Describe types of children (sex and age) reportedly experiencing the most abuse.
5. Describe the differences in the rearing of boys and girls.
6. Describe the type and extent of perceptions of emotional abuse.
7. Describe the level and extent of awareness of child welfare services.
8. Describe the frequency of reported use of child welfare services.
9. Describe the level of satisfaction with child welfare services.
10. Describe how respondents define "child abuse."
11. Describe how respondents define "neglect."
12. Describe child rearing practices of respondents.
13. Develop a demographic profile of Mexican American migrant respondents.
14. Develop a profile of the family structure of Mexican American migrant respondents.
15. Determine what kind of abuse is more serious.

Finally, a set of hypotheses were developed for the study.
These testable hypotheses are:

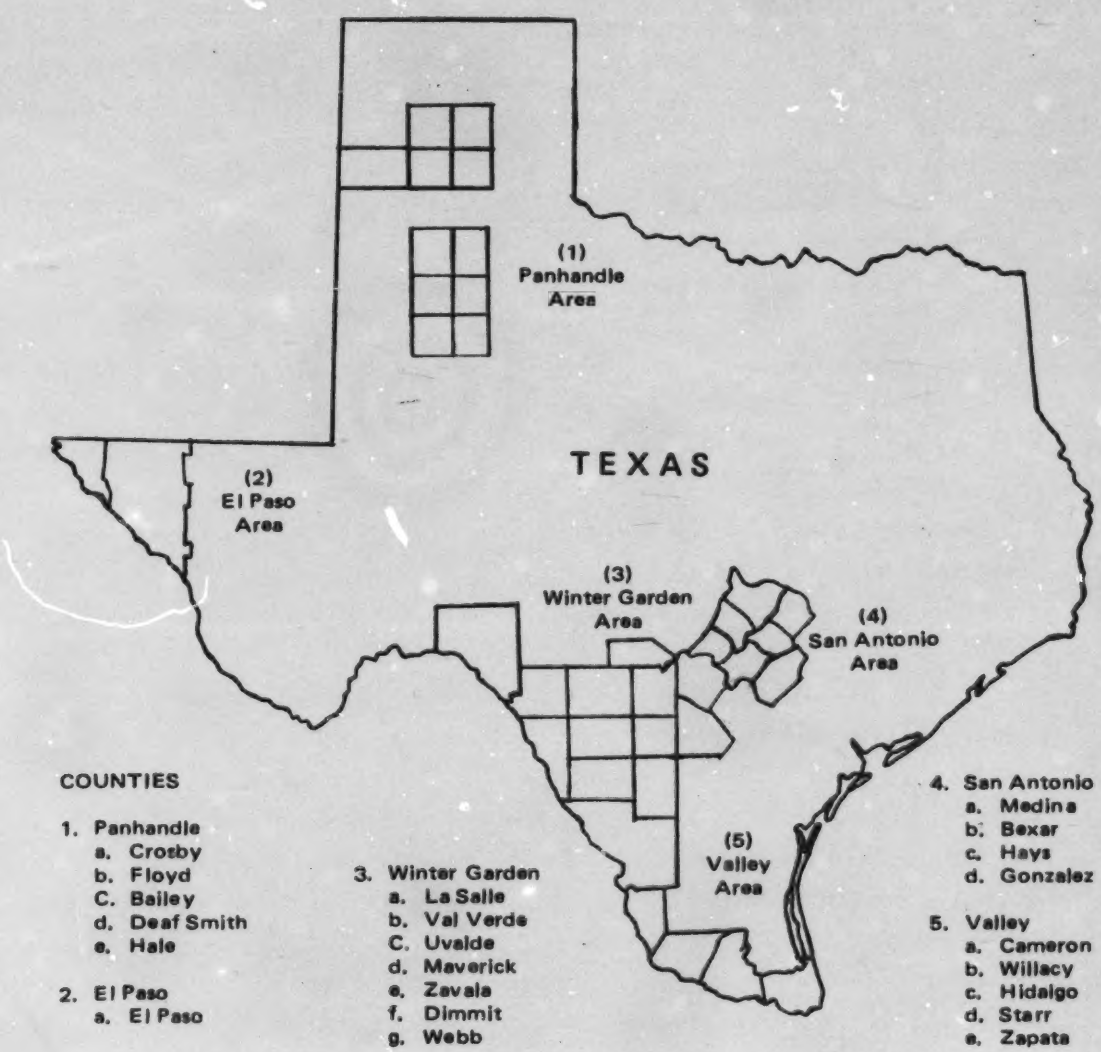
1. Among Mexican American migrant families, the lower the socio-economic status, the greater the tolerance of child abuse.
2. Among Mexican American migrant parents, the more strict the person's parents, the more strict that person will be with his/her offspring.
3. Among Mexican American migrant parents, the activities that one most often did with his/her parents will be most often done with his/her offspring.
4. The more satisfied Mexican American migrant parents are with child welfare services, the less tolerance they will express for child abuse.
5. The more familiar Mexican American migrant workers are with child welfare services, the less tolerance they will express for abuse of their own children.
6. Among Mexican American migrant workers, the greater the acceptance of the state's right to intervene in the family processes, the less tolerance they will express for child abuse.
7. Among Mexican American migrant workers, the greater the acceptance of the state's right to intervene in the family processes, the less tolerance they will express for severe discipline of children.
8. Among Mexican American migrant workers, the greater the willingness to accept placement of children outside the home, the less tolerance they will express for child abuse.
9. Among Mexican American migrant families, the more traditionally Mexican American the values of the family, the less tolerance they will express for child abuse.
10. Among Mexican American migrant families, the more integrated into the neighborhood, the less tolerance they will express for child abuse.
11. Mexican American migrant workers are less tolerant of abuse than other Texas residents.

SAMPLE SELECTION

The Texas Migrant Council, Inc., is an organization that exists to serve Mexican American migrant families in Texas. One form of service that the Texas Migrant Council provides to migrant families is the provision of Head Start Centers. Access, therefore, to migrant families is directly available to the Texas Migrant Council, Inc.

The planning team determined that, based on accessibility, the sample would be drawn from parents utilizing Head Start programs for their children. It was further determined that based on previous demographic studies of migrants, a Head Start oriented sample would not be unrepresentative of the total migrant population.

The sites selected for the study covered migrant work patterns across the state. The areas and corresponding counties selected included:



The first contact with the respondents was through interviews and letters that introduced the study to the respondents and explained the purpose of the study. These letters were prepared and mailed to all potential respondents. Participation in the study was strictly voluntary. Following the introductory letter, door-to-door contact was made. Several contacts were attempted at each address in order to locate the respondents. A total of 500 respondents were eventually identified.

Although the sample was drawn from volunteers and, therefore, a "convenience" sample, the data indicates that it is representative of Texas Mexican American migrants. Based on a 1976 statewide sample of migrant workers, most comparable demographic characteristics are quite similar. For example, the mean household size in the state sample is 6 persons and in this study the mean size is 6.4. Just over 50% of the state migrant sample respondents indicated that they owned their home and just under 50% indicated home ownership in the study sample. Annual family income, when adjusted for inflation, was almost identical and the composition of the sample families were identical.[11] Therefore, the sample, though selective, appears to be representative of the migrant population as a whole.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSTRUMENT

A face-to-face interview procedure was selected for data gathering. This is because it is the most appropriate strategy where there are personal questions to be asked and where the level of literacy is low.

During the constructing of the questionnaire, the Resource Center staff reviewed other questionnaires that had been used by other research organizations or agencies. Other questionnaires that the Resource staff reviewed included: "Proyecto Del Estudio Sobre La Educacion Familiar" by Doctor L. S. Berrios, Texas A&I University, Laredo, Texas; "Child Abuse Among Migrant Workers," by Sociology Department, Laredo State University, Laredo, Texas; "Household Baseline Study" by United States Department of Labor, Western Statistics Corporation of Rockville, Maryland; "Child Abuse in Texas: A Descriptive Study of Texas Residents' Attitudes" by the Survey Research Program, Sam Houston State University (Sapp and Carter).

The questions were organized in a conversational manner with the purpose of developing an atmosphere that was conducive to the data collection. The questionnaire includes six sections: migrant lifestyle, education of the child, socialization, child rearing practices, attitudes toward child abuse and neglect issues, and awareness and usage of social services and child protective services. Instructions were provided on how to address certain difficult-to-answer questions. During the review of the questionnaire, two pre-tests were conducted to assess the attitudes of the respondents toward the survey, and also to correct or eliminate unclear or ambiguous questions. Participants for the pre-test study included respondents from the Laredo area. Because it was anticipated that most migrant families would prefer to be interviewed in Spanish, the proper Spanish language version of the questionnaire was then constructed.

INTERVIEWER PREPARATION

The staff of the Resource Center conducted all interviews fo the study. An interviewing training session was held prior to the pre-testing periods. A consultant with experience in previous research and the staff person in charge of the study, conducted the training session. Materials used in the training session included: Using the Questionnaire, General Interviewing Techniques, Introduction at the Door, and Techniques on Probing. The training sessions were conducted in English and Spanish. This provided the interviewers with the practice of interviewing in the two languages and allowed the interviewers to practice the Spanish language. A role playing session was also conducted. Employees from the Texas Migrant Council main office in Laredo, Texas volunteered to participate in this training session. They were assigned to play the role of the respondents. Interviewres practiced conducting complete interviews using all the necessary materials including the introductory letter, show cards, and identification cards.

ANALYZING THE DATA

Once the interviewing began, the Resource Center contacted the Social Science Research Center (SSRC) of Corpus Christi State University to assist in the data analysis. SSRC staff developed a coding system for the transference of data from the questionnaire to code sheets. Each questionnaire was numbered and transferred to a code form. Code forms were then key-punched and tabulated using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. All computer operations were done on an IBM Model 4331 Computer.

In addition to analyzing the results of the study at hand, the SSRC was able to obtain a copy of the data from the Sapp and Carter study. These data were re-ordered and cross tabulated in order to provide a comparison with this study. These comparisons will be reported in the following section as well.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The results of the study will be presented in two sub-sections. The first will include the descriptive facts which were sought after and these descriptive results will be presented demographically, as well as attitudinally. The second sub-section will include an analysis of the data and will be based on the eleven theoretical hypotheses listed previously. This analysis will predominantly rely on the results of this project but will also tap the data on the Sapp and Carter study.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

One of the goals of the study was to develop a descriptive profile of migrants with young children, including demographic information as well as a summary of their attitudes toward child rearing practices in general, and attitudes toward child abuse in particular.

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DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

The demographic information collected in the study includes information about the place and type of residence, family structure, work information, and migration patterns.

Residence

As indicated in Table One, migrants in the study live primarily in small towns. Eighty percent live in towns of less than 25 thousand and the majority live in small towns with populations of 5 to 25 thousand. In most cases, the migrants live near relatives. Eighty percent have relatives living in the same town, and 54% report relatives living within the same barrio (neighborhood). Within these small towns the large majority of the migrants live in single family homes rather than in apartments or other dwellings.

TABLE 1

SIZE OF CITY OF RESIDENCE

Size	% Residing
Rural Area	2%
Less than 5,000	28%
5,001 to 25,000	51%
25,001 to 100,000	8%
100,001 to 250,000	6%
Over 250,000	6%

Table two shows 76% living in homes, with most of the remainder living in apartments.

TABLE 2

TYPE OF DWELLING

Type	% Residing
Home	76%
Apartment	18%
Trailer	6%
Shack	1%

Table Three and Table Four suggest that these homes are fairly small. The average residence had four rooms including two bedrooms. Seventy-seven percent had fewer than five rooms, and 90% had three or fewer bedrooms.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN RESIDENCE

Number of Rooms	% of Dwellings
One	7%
Two	15%
Three	21%
Four	14%
Five	21%
Six	14%
Seven	5%
Eight	4%

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF BEDROOMS IN RESIDENCE

Number of Bedrooms	% of Dwellings
Zero	1%
One	17%
Two	38%
Three	33%
Four	9%
Five	1%

Table Five indicates the quality of the homes by listing how many homes had the following facilities: kitchen, inside bathroom, shower, electricity, inside running water, and hot water. Over 70% had all six of the listed facilities and 84% had five of six. Table Six indicates that nearly half are purchasing their residence, with most of the others renting.

TABLE 5

NUMBER OF STANDARD HOME FACILITIES: KITCHEN, INSIDE BATHROOM, SHOWER, ELECTRICITY, RUNNING WATER, HOT WATER

Number of Facilities	% of Dwelling
None to Two	5%
Three or Four	11%
Five	13%
Six	71%

TABLE 6

OWNERSHIP OF RESIDENCE

Status	% of Dwelling
Rent	47%
Own or Purchasing	45%
Live with Family	5%
Other	3%

The respondents were also asked a number of questions about their feelings toward the neighborhood. In general, their responses suggest guarded liking for the neighborhood. Only about a quarter of the respondents meet frequently with their neighbors. While this might appear to be low, it compares very favorably with the extent to which they report meeting with others. By way of comparison, 31% report meeting frequently with fellow workers, 26% report meeting frequently with friends, and 31% report meeting frequently with compadres.

The responses to a number of questions suggest some concerns about the neighborhood. Twenty-nine percent of the respondents felt that there might be too many thefts in the neighborhood, 19% felt the neighborhood was not a good influence on children, and 22% said there was too much superstition.

TABLE 7

NEIGHBORHOOD STATUS

Too Many Thefts	**29%**
Not a Good Influence on Children	**19%**
Too much Superstition	**22%**

Family Structure

In addition to information about residences, the survey collected information about family structure. The average household contained six persons. But, as indicated in Table Eight some had as many as twenty people in residence. The findings also revealed that the average family has four children, two boys and two girls.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLD

Number	% of Dwelling
Two	**2%**
Three or Four	**25%**
Five or Six	**34%**
Seven or Eight	**22%**
Nine or More	**19%**

Table Nine suggests that in the dominant family pattern is the nuclear family; in less than 10% of the cases are the people in the home other than husband, wife, or children. And, broken homes are relatively rare, occurring in less than 12% of the cases.

TABLE 9

FAMILY STRUCTURE

Type	% of Households
Nuclear Family	79%
Extended Family	9%
Female Headed	11%
Male Headed	1%

In Addition to the small number of broken homes, there are other indications that the families are quite traditional. Table Ten reveals very few without a religious preference, and 85% have the Catholic religious preference one would expect of people with a Spanish heritage. The families also are quite traditional in that, other than the 11% female headed households, the male is defined as the main provider.

TABLE 10

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Religion	% Members
Catholic	83%
Protestant	3%
Other	12%
None	2%

Both husband and wife are very likely to have been born in either Texas or Mexico. Table Eleven shows that the large majority prefer to be called Mexican or Mexican American. The survey results show a very low level of education for the migrants. The average education attainment of both husband and wife is seventh grade as seen in Table Twelve.

TABLE 11

PREFERRED ETHNIC DESIGNATION

Designation	% Preferring
Mexican	47%
Mexican American	33%
Latin American	5%
Chicano	4%
Other	11%

TABLE 12

EDUCATION OF MAIN PROVIDER

Grade Level	% Attaining
None	3%
One to Three	17%
Four to Six	31%
Seven to Nine	23%
Ten and Eleven	12%
High School Graduate	12%
Some College	1%

Table Thirteen reveals that some 85% of the family adults have less than a high school education, and half have no more than a sixth grade education.

TABLE 13

EDUCATION OF OTHER FAMILY ADULTS

Grade Level	% Attaining
None	6%
One to Three	14%
Four to Six	32%
Seven to Nine	21%
Ten and Eleven	12%
High School Graduate	14%
Some College	4%

Employment

In the large majority of cases both spouses have worked as farm migrants. Table Fourteen indicates that in 77% of the families both husband and wife worked as migrants.

TABLE 14

FAMILY ADULTS WHO HAVE WORKED AS MIGRANTS

Persons	% of Cases
Husband Only	10%
Wife Only	13%
Both Husband and Wife	77%

And, as indicated in Tables Fifteen and Sixteen, of those doing migrant work, approximately 90% of both worked as field hands. Their incomes are very low.

TABLE 15

RESPONDENT'S TYPE OF MIGRANT WORK

Type of Work	% of Cases
Field Hand	92%
Shed Work	5%
Operate Field Machines	2%
Other	1%

TABLE 16

SPOUSE'S TYPE OF MIGRANT WORK

Type of Work	% of Cases
Field Hand	87%
Shed Work	7%
Operate Field Machines	4%
Supervisor	1%
Other	1%

Table Seventeen reveals that income is less than six thousand a year for 60% of the families, and less than ten thousand for 90% of the families.

TABLE 17

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

Income	% of Cases
Less than $ 3,000	17%
$ 3,001 to $ 6,000	44%
$ 6,001 to $10,000	29%
$10,001 to $15,000	8%
More than $15,000	2%

Table Eighteen shows the number of years the respondents have worked as migrants. About one-third have worked as migrants for less than five years, about a third have worked twelve or more years, with the median being slightly less than nine years.

Perhaps surprisingly, work satisfaction is high; 78% of respondents report themselves and their spouses to be satisfied with their work. No aspect of migrant work stands out as being the primary cause of high work satisfaction.

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF YEARS RESPONDENT WORKED AS MIGRANTS

Years	% of Cases
Less than Six	26%
Six to Ten	24%
Eleven to Fifteen	15%
Sixteen to Twenty	12%
Twenty-One to Twenty-Five	8%
Twenty-Six to Thirty-Five	10%
More than Thirty-Five	5%

Table Nineteen shows that workers offer a variety of reasons for their satisfaction.

TABLE 19

REASONS FOR WORK SATISFACTION

Reason	% of Cases
Type of Work	30%
Life Style	25%
Working Conditions	21%
Money	20%
Other	4%

However, in a related question in the survey, asking respondents why they became migrants, few reported choosing to become migrants because of desirable aspects of the work. Rather, most respondents gave fatalistic explanations. Fifty-six percent said they were fated to become migrants, and another 17% believed they had relatively few choices of work (See Table 20).

TABLE 20

REASONS FOR BECOMING A MIGRANT WORKER

Reason	% of Cases
Fate	56%
Lack of Other Opportunities	23%
Life Style	11%
Money	10%

While most of the migrant children do not work in the fields, a sizable minority do. Thirty percent of the respondents indicate that their children worked as migrants. Among those children who do work, the starting age is quite young. Table 21 shows that over half of those children that worked started by the time they were nine. It should be noted, however, that over half of the parents did not want the kids to become migrants, and only 20% actually favored their children becoming migrant workers.

TABLE 21

AGE CHILDREN BEGAN AS MIGRANT WORKERS

Age	% of Children
Less than Nine	13%
Nine	41%
Ten to Twelve	24%
Thirteen to Fifteen	18%
More than Fifteen	4%

The questionnaire contained a number of questions about housing facilities at migrants camps. The average camp house is quite small. It had less than three rooms (See Table 22) and 57% had two or fewer rooms.

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF ROOMS IN MIGRANT CAMP HOUSING

Number of Rooms	% of Cases
One	31%
Two	21%
Three	21%
Four	7%
Five	12%
Six to Eight	8%

TABLE 23

NUMBER OF BEDROOMS IN MIGRANT CAMP HOUSING

Number of Bedrooms	% of Cases
None	7%
One	38%
Two	35%
Three	14%
Four to Seven	6%

The average house had slightly fewer than two bedrooms with less than 20% of the camp houses having more than that (See Table 23). However, many of the camp houses were reasonably well equipped. Table 24 reveals that 56% of camp housing had all six of the following facilities: kitchen, inside bathroom, shower, electricity, inside running water, and hot water. Only 13% had fewer than half of the listed facilities.

TABLE 24

NUMBER OF STANDARD FACILITIES IN CAMP HOUSING KITCHEN, INDOOR BATHROOM, SHOWER, ELECTRICITY RUNNING WATER, HOT WATER

Number of Facilities	% of Cases
None	1%
One	3%
Two	10%
Three	9%
Four	10%
Five	12%
Six	57%

Migration Patterns

Three quarters of the migrants begin their migration between April and June each year, and most will return between August and October, although 10% will not return until November. While nearly a quarter of them migrate within Texas, the remainder are scattered fairly evenly throughout the national, with no state being a clear favorite for migration. (See Table 27).

TABLE 25

FIFTEEN MOST MENTIONED MIGRATION STATES

State	% of Cases
Texas	24%
Minnesota	11%
Ohio	7%
California	7%
Michigan	6%
Florida	6%
Colorado	5%
North Dakota	5%
Illinois	5%
Washington	5%
Wisconsin	4%
Indiana	2%
Kansas	2%
New Mexico	2%
Idaho	2%

Table 26 indicates that migration is a family activity in over 90% of the cases. Fifty percent of the respondents reported they migrated with the nuclear family only, 30% report that other family members accompanied them, and 9% report migrating with family friends.

TABLE 26

PERSONS MIGRATING TOGETHER

Persons	% of Cases
Nuclear Family	51%
Extended Family	30%
Family and Friends	9%
Head of Family Only	5%

CHILD REARING PRACTICES

The questionnaire contained a number of questions designed to reveal the respondents' attitudes about child rearing. These questions included some general items, questions about attitudes toward schooling, questions about family activities, and the use of rewards and punishments. Migrants seem to show traditional and conservative attitudes toward child rearing. Their responses toward which child rearing goals ought to be learned in school indicates that migrants consider discipline and instrumental skills (reading, writing) as the most important. Migrants feel it is important to dedicate time to children like talking to them, eating together, watching T.V. together, etc.

GENERAL ITEMS

Table 27 and Table 28 show the ages that the respondents believed children could care for themselves without supervision. Over half of the respondents reported that boys needed supervision until age 21 or older, including 40% that felt they needed supervision as long as they were living at home.

TABLE 27

AGE THAT BOYS NO LONGER NEED SUPERVISION

Age	% of Cases
Less than Sixteen	15%
Sixteen to Twenty	29%
More than Twenty	13%
As Long as Home	40%
Other	3%

Similar results were obtained for girls; 55% of those surveyed said they need supervision until 21 or older, 40% indicating they need supervision as long as they lived at home. These results suggest relatively conservative attitudes toward child rearing. This impression is strengthened by the finding that 23% felt traditional child rearing methods were best, and the finding that 52% felt that traditional child rearing methods at least ought to be combined with newer methods. See Table 28

TABLE 28

AGE THAT GIRLS NO LONGER NEED SUPERVISION

Age	% of Cases
Less than Sixteen	14%
More than Twenty	14%
As Long as Home	41%

Table 29 is a listing of responses to the question, "What do you think is the most important thing for a child to learn?" As can be seen, the item most frequently mentioned by far was "obedience", with "manners" and "honesty" being mentioned next most frequently.

TABLE 29

MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR CHILDREN TO LEARN

Attribute	% of Cases
Obedience	42%
Honesty	13%
Good Manners	13%
Happiness	11%
Self Reliance	10%
Helpfulness	8%
Other	3%

Table 30 indicates which child rearing goals the respondents felt were important to be learned in school.

TABLE 30

IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL TAUGHT CHILD REARING GOALS

Goal	% Responding
Discipline	55%
Instrumental Skills	41%
English	28%
Sociability	20%
Bilingual Ability	18%

Spanish is the only language 53% of the parents use with their children. Only 4% of the respondents say that they mostly or always use English and, 35% say they use both languages with their children. (See Table 31).

TABLE 31

LANGUAGE USED WITH CHILDREN

Language	% of Cases
Spanish Only	53%
Mostly Spanish	8%
Both	35%
Mostly English	1%
English Only	3%

In general, the respondents seemed to be satisfied with the schooling their children are receiving. Eighty-two percent report they are satisfied with what their children are taught. And, only 14% said that they were not being taught. These findings should not be taken to indicate apathy on the part of the parents about their children's schooling. Eighty percent of them report visiting their children's school at least once during the last year. Another indicator of child rearing attitudes is the kinds of activities that a parent engages in with their children. Table 32 reports the activities of migrant parents with their children. These figures indicate moderate but not overwhelming involvement of migrant parents with their children.

TABLE 32

ACTIVITIES OF PARENTS WITH THEIR CHILDREN

Activity	% of Cases
Eat with Children	90%
Watch TV with Children	90%
Talk with Children	69%
Playing with Children	52%
Visit Neighbors with Children	48%
Help with Homework	41%
Read to Children	38%

TABLE 33

ACTIVITIES OF RESPONDENTS WITH THEIR PARENTS

Activity	% of Cases
Eat with their Parents	72%
Watch TV with Parents	48%
Visit Neighbors with Parents	41%
Attend Reunions with Parents	0%

Table 33 reports the activities of respondents with their parents. Most migrant parents reported that the whole family usually ate dinner together; but the reports of families watching TV together, attending reunions together or visiting neighbors together was not very high. As a result, when migrant parents were asked how they felt about the activities they shared with their parents, 52% said they were happy, 11% were very happy, 16% were unhappy and 30% were very unhappy.

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

Because the primary objective of the questionnaire was to investigate child abuse, particular attention was paid to the parent's attitudes toward discipline. In 17% of the cases, it was reported that the husband usually is responsible for disciplining, in 32% of the cases the wife was said to be primarily responsible, and 50% said both husband and wife.

Table 34 shows responses to the question, "What kind of rewards do you use with your children?" The table reveals that the migrant parents overwhelmingly prefer to use non-material rewards; praise, love and other psychic kinds of rewards are used in 77% of the cases. Non-physical means are also preferred to punishing the children for misdeeds.

TABLE 34

PREFERRED REWARDS FOR CHILDREN

Type of Reward	% of Cases
Praise	61%
Love/Physical Affection	16%
Material Rewards	12%
Freedoms	2%

Table 35 shows the responses that migrants voiced toward kids who run away from home. Most respondents felt that running away from home was not right but that kids run away from home because they are unhappy at home, their parents do not show any affection toward them or listen to them. (See Table 35 on next page).

TABLE 35

WHY DO CHILDREN RUN AWAY FROM HOME

Reason	% of Cases
Parents (Do Not Understandkids Do Not Show Affection)	25%
Homelife (Domestic Violence, Alcoholis Parent)	20%
Child's Fault (Child is stubborn, Does not want to be home, Wants too much liberty.	20%
Peers	20%

In Table 36 attitudes on serious child misbehavior are reported. Here parents identified the most serious misbehavior a child could engage in. Some 40% of the respondents indicated that criminal activity, including violence, was the most serious while 54% said that disobedience and "bad manners" were the most serious forms of misbehavior.

TABLE 36

MOST SERIOUS CHILD MISBEHAVIOR

Behavior	% of Cases
Disobedience	31%
Bad Manners	23%
Fighting	22%
Non-violent Crime (Theft, Vandalism)	17%
Truancy	2%
Substance Abuse	1%

Table 37 summarizes how the respondents would respond to serious misbehavior by their children. Nearly half of the parents say they would take a counseling rather than punitive approach to a serious misdeed. And, among the punitive responses, restrictions and verbal reprimands are the most common, with only 15% of the sample indicating they would use physical punishments. The data suggest that the reluctance to use punishment for serious misbehavior does not lie in a general opposition to punishment. Rather, the parents seem to recognize that punishment may be ineffective in dealing with serious problems.

TABLE 37

PREFERRED DISCIPLINE TO CHILD'S VERY SERIOUS MISBEHAVIOR

Response	% of Cases
Counsel With Child	48%
Restrict Recreational Activities	21%
Physical Punishment	15%
Verbal Reprimand	12%
Do Nothing	2%
Get Tougher	1%

Table 38 summarizes how parents respond to less serious misbehavior. In such cases parents are much more oriented toward punitive responses with 31% indicating they would use physical punishment and 30% saying they would use verbal punishment. Only 7% of the respondents said parents should be lenient with their children. 39% said they should be strict, with the remainder saying they should be somewhere in between. Interestingly, 63% of the respondents reported that their parents had been strict with them.

TABLE 38

PREFERRED DISCIPLINE TO CHILD'S MINOR MISBEHAVIOR

Type of Punishment	% of Cases
Physical Punishment	31%
Verbal Punishment	30%
Restrict Activities	17%
Other	22%

ATTITUDES TOWARD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

PERCEPTIONS OF ABUSE AND NEGLECT

All respondents were asked to state whether or not specific acts were abusive or neglectful. The purpose of this line of questioning was to determine the respondent's tolerance of abuse and neglect. The questions in this regard were categorized and divided into four sets. Each set of questions dealt with a different area of abuse. The four broad categories were: 1) physical abuse, 2) emotional abuse, 3) sexual abuse, and 4) neglect.

Table 39 reflects the respondent's attitudes toward what constitutes physical abuse. Only 24% of the respondents considered spanking abusive while placing a child in hot water and biting a child garnered positive responses from 99% of the respondents. Seven of the twelve areas solicited over 90% positive responses.

TABLE 39

ATTITUDES TOWARD PHYSICAL ABUSE

Is Conduct Abusive?	% Agreement
Placing child in hot water	99%
Biting child	99%
Throwing objects at a child like bottles, shoes, brush, etc.	98%

Spanking child with coathanger	97%
Hitting child with a closed fist	97%
Pulling a child's hair	93%
Slapping child in the face	92%
Spanking child with wooden paddle	88%
Shaking a child violently	82%
Pinching a child	80%
Spanking child with a belt	53%
Spanking child with hand	24%

In Table 40 attitudes toward emotional abuse are reported. Here, four of the ten categories gathered over 90% positive considerations.

TABLE 40

ATTITUDES TOWARD EMOTIONAL ABUSE

Is Conduct Abusive?	% Agreement
Locking a child in dark room	97%
Tying a child to a chair	97%
Humiliating a child	95%
Cursing at a child	92%
Locking a child in a room	88%
Threatening a child	81%
Scaring a child	77%
Making a child sit in a chair for a long time	71%
Putting a child in a corner for a long time	68%
Yelling at a child	54%

In the area of sexual abuse only one of the nine theoretical situations was below the ninetieth percentile -- kissing an unrelated child. Of the remaining eight, seven were above 95% and three were at/or above 99%. (See Table 41).

TABLE 41

ATTITUDES TOWARD SEXUAL ABUSE

Is Conduct Abusive?	% Agreement
Making two children have sexual intercourse	99%
Making a child pose in the nude	99%
Parents having sexual intercourse with own child	99%
Touching the sex organs of children	98%
Showing a child pornographic material	98%
Photographing a nude child	97%
Fondling the sex organs of a child	92%
Kissing a child that is not familially related	57%

The neglect category had similar results. The "low" concerned the failure to provide religion, at 89%, and the high involved the failure to provide food (99%). The average neglect response was 94%. (See Table 42).

TABLE 42

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGLECT

Is Conduct Neglectful?	% Agreement
Failure to provide adequate food	99%
Failure to provide medical care	98%
Failure to provide supervision	98%
Failure to provide education	96%

Failure to provide adequate clothing	**95%**
Failure to provide dental care	**94%**
Failure to provide adequate housing	**92%**
Failure to provide religion	**89%**

The respondent's awareness of abuse and neglect was solicited through the asking of several separate questions. Of the 407 answering a question concerning their personal knowledge of abuse in the area, 16% indicated that they were aware of abuse. (See Table 43). Only 8% indicated that they have ever reported abuse, but 91% stated that they would be willing to report, and 80% said they were aware that it is mandatory (by law) to report abuse.

TABLE 43

RESPONDENT KNOWS OF CHILD ABUSE IN AREA

Answer	% of Respondents
Yes	**16%**
No	**85%**

When asked to identify the abuses most common in the neighborhood, the largest percentage (47%) of those who answered that question indicated that physical abuse was the most common. The least common was sexual abuse -- 2% (See Table 44).

TABLE 44

ABUSES MOST COMMON IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Abuse Category	% of Cases
Physical Abuse	**47%**
Physical Neglect	**20%**
Lack of Supervision	**13%**
Emotional Neglect	**11%**
Emotional Abuse	**4%**
Sexual Abuse	**2%**
Other	**3%**

Respondents were also asked about the best way to handle child abuse and neglect. As can be seen in Table 45, over 96% of the respondents indicated that they approve of the state intervening in abusive situations and only 2% said they disapproved of state intervention.

TABLE 45

LEVEL OF APPROVAL OF STATE INTERVENING FOR CHILD

Level of Approval	% of Cases
Strongly Approve	36%
Approve	61%
Neutral	1%
Disapprove	1%
Strongly Disapprove	1%

A series of questions was also asked about where child abusers should go for help. According to Table 46, 33% of the respondents identified Mental-Health Retardation as the most appropriate agency, 32% indicated that abusers should go to the state Welfare Department for help, and 9% indicated that the criminal courts were the appropriate place.

TABLE 46

WHERE SHOULD CHILD ABUSERS GO FOR HELP?

Agency	% of Cases
MH-MR	33%
State Welfare	32%
Psychiatrist	27%
City Police	23%
Family Doctor	22%
Minister	22%
County Welfare	19%

State Police	13%
Public Health	11%
County Sheriff	11%
Civil Courts	9%
Criminal Courts	9%
Other Groups	9%

Finally, respondents were asked under what conditions of abuse should a child be removed from the home. Over one-third indicated that physical abuse would justify removal and only 4% said that the child should never be removed. (See Table 47).

TABLE 47

REASONS FOR REMOVING CHILD FROM THE HOME

Reason	% of Cases
Physical Abuse	35%
Sexual Abuse	9%
Neglect	23%
Emotional Abuse	5%
Parent's Conduct	1%
Other	27%
Never Remove	4%

The following includes a breakdown of the kinds of abuses the respondents actually quoted in the interviews:

(1) Physical Abuse – Whip child, bruise child, continuously beating child, kick child, burn child, bite child, place child in hot water, bathing child in hot water, throw objects at child like bottle, shoe; cut child, break childs arm, leg; hit child with belt, hit child with coathangers, beat child on head, beat child on back near lungs, striking alot of heavy blows on child, shaking child violently, hit child with electrical cord, hit child with fist, hit child with hand closed.

(2) Sexual Abuse – Rape, incest, sexual abuse.

(3) Neglect – Failure to provide medical care, failure to provide adequate clean housing, child barefooted in cold weather, not protecting child, leaving retarded child alone, not taking care of child, not feeding child, punishing child without food, not feeding child for several days, not sending child to school, leaving children alone, children out in streets unsupervised, letting child care for himself completely, not clothing child properly, failure to clean child, not bathing child.

(4) Emotional Abuse – Children treated differently from the others, lack of attention typing child to chair or bed, lack of affection, no love, not wanting child, lack of communication, locking child in room, locking child in closet, locking child in covered waste basket, cuss at child, scaring child, threatening child, too strict, too authoritarian with child, making child work very hard, locking child in dark room, kneeling child, humiliating child, placing child in corner, forcing child to beg for money, scolding child.

(5) Parents Behavior – Parents taking drugs, parents drinking alcohol, parents not getting along, father beating mother, not being responsible parents, serious problems in the home, parents running children away, step parents do not want child.

(6) Other – Children are suffering, children are unahppy at home, children not wanting to go home, parents separating, not enough money to support child.

COMPARATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD ABUSE

A salient finding in the study is that the migrant respondents have a low level of tolerance for child abuse as measured in their expressed attitudes on physical, emotional and sexual abuse. This is reflected in the data internally and in comparison with data gathered by Sapp and Carter on Texas residents in general.[12]

Using the Sapp and Carter study as an index for comparison, migrants appear to have even less attitudinal tolerance for the various forms of abuse than the general population of Texas. Comparison of items for the three categories of abuse are reported in Tables 48, 49, 50, and 51 on the basis of like questionnaire items in both the Sapp and Carter State Study as well as this study. Comparative profiles are developed by contrasting our (TMC) findings with those of both the aggregate and ethnic populations identified by Sapp and Carter.

TABLE 48

COMPARISON OF TMC AND SAPP & CARTER FINDINGS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD PHYSICAL ABUSE

IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	% Agreeing				
	Texas All (S&C)	Mex. Am. Mig. (TMC)	Mex. Am. (S&C)	Black (S&C)	Anglo (S&C)
Putting child in hot water	99%	98%	99%	99%	99%
Striking with a fist	98%	97%	98%	97%	98%
Biting	92%	98%	95%	91%	92%
Spanking with coathanger	91%	97%	92%	95%	91%
Violent shaking	84%	82%	84%	83%	86%
Pinching	70%	80%	63%	65%	72%
Slapping face	68%	92%	77%	75%	66%
Spanking with paddle	37%	88%	53%	50%	33%
Spanking with belt	32%	53%	34%	21%	33%
Spanking with hand	7%	24%	11%	16%	5%

Items receiving 92% or higher percentiles: placing child in hot water, biting child, slapping face, striking with fist, spanking with coathanger.

TABLE 49

COMPARISON OF TMC AND SAPP & CARTER FINDINGS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD EMOTIONAL ABUSE

IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE??	% Agreeing				
	Texas All (S&C)	Mex. Am. Mig. (TMC)	Mex. Am. (S&C)	Black (S&C)	Anglo (S&C)
Tying to object	98%	97%	93%	97%	98%
Locking in closet	97%	98%	95%	93%	98%
Locking in dark room	96%	98%	97%	93%	96%
Cursing	89%	92%	90%	93%	89%
Locking in room	82%	88%	84%	81%	82%
Scaring	79%	77%	86%	76%	79%
Threatening	54%	81%	74%	63%	51%
Force long stand	52%	68%	53%	48%	54%
Force long sit	46%	71%	50%	41%	46%
Yelling	35%	54%	43%	42%	33%

Here migrants again seem to show a lower level of tolerance emotional abuse. When the TMC data was compared to the Sapp and Carter data, migrants expressed higher percentile ratings for emotionally abusive behavior than did Texas All, Mexican American, Black and Anglos from the Sapp and Carter Data.

TABLE 50

COMPARISON OF TMC AND SAPP & CARTER FINDINGS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD SEXUAL ABUSE

IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	% Agreeing				
	Texas All (S&C)	Mex. Am. Mig. (TMC)	Mex. Am. (S&C)	Black (S&C)	Anglo (S&C)
Making child have sex with another child	99%	99%	99%	98%	100%
Incest	99%	99%	99%	97%	100%
Forcing child into sex	99%	99%	99%	96%	100%
Forcing to pose nude	98%	99%	95%	90%	97%
Fondling child's genitals	97%	92%	95%	94%	98%
Showing pornography	92%	98%	90%	78%	94%
Photographing nude	81%	97%	83%	74%	81%
Touching genitals	73%	98%	80%	69%	72%
Kissing non-related	15%	57%	23%	23%	13%

Sapp and Carter's data indicate there is no significant difference in attitudes expressed toward physical and emotional abuse according to income categories when separating the population in terms of those earning less than $10,000 annually from those earning $10,000 or more (respective n's are 351 and 898). This finding compiled with the TMC data, in which such a large percentage of the respondents had an income of under $10,000 per year (90%), would indicate that income does not seem to be a significant variable in accounting for overall attitudes toward these types of abuse. However, there is significant variance by income groups on two items in the measured attitudes toward sexual abuse. Moreover, these differences are compounded and consistent in terms of the ethnic differences among Anglo, Black and Mexican-American respondents according to the income categories used.

TABLE 51

ATTITUDES ON TWO ITEMS OF PERCEIVED SEXUAL ABUSE BY INCOME AND ETHNICITY

SEXUAL CONDUCT	Mex. Am. Mig. under $10,000 (TMC)	Mex-Am under $10,000 (S & C)	Mex-Am $10,000 above (S & C)	Black under $10,000 (S & C)	Black $10,000 above (S & C)	Anglo under $10,000 (S & C)	Anglo $10,000 above (S & C)
Kissing an unrelated child	57%	31%	15%	26%	23%	18%	11%
Photographing child in nude	97%	77%	90%	66%	81%	79%	82%

According to Table 51, both poorer Blacks and Mexican Americans are more likely than better off minorities or than either rich or poor Anglos to regard kissing an unrelated child to be a form of sexual abuse. Overall, there is more negative expression toward kissing children that are not kin on the part of the lower income segment of each ethnic group when compared with the higher income segment of that ethnic group. In this latter respect it is notable that within the Sapp and Carter study there is such a considerable proportion of difference between the lower and higher income Mexican-American (31 to 15%) and that the higher income group of Mexican Americans is even more tolerant of this behavior than are the lower income Anglos (with 18% considering kissing an unrelated child to be sexual abuse). Finally, the lower income Mexican American migrant respondent has a particularly conservative profile on this item with over half reporting that kissing unrelated children is a form of sexual abuse. These data from Table Fifty – One coupled with data and observations reported elsewhere in this study on the economic and cultural separation of the migrant population, suggests that variance on this item may be significantly related to relative levels of assimilation both within and outside of the Mexican American population.

Income and ethnic patterns of response are not as clearly distinct in Table Fifty – One concerning attitudes toward photographing nude children as they were in the case of kissing unrelated children. However, the data does indicate a comparatively high level of intolerance for this behavior among the migrants 96.5%) and a somewhat tolerant attitude among lower income Blacks toward photographing nude children (with 66.0 regarding the behavior as a form of sexual abuse).

COMPARATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF CHILD NEGLECT

Questions used to gauge perceptions of neglectful behaviors as forms of child abuse were replicated from the Sapp and Carter study in the TMC questionnaire. As Table 52 indicates, the attitudes of the migrants closely track those of the overall population of the Sapp and Carter study, with the migrants showing slightly less attitudinal tolerance toward neglect on all items except the last (neglecting to provide religion). On this item the migrants reported a considerably lower level of tolerance than the general sample drawn from Texas with 89% of the migrants regarding the failure to provide religion to be a form of abuse compared to 70% making the same judgement in the Sapp and Carter study. Moreover, it should be noted that the migrant respondents differed even more than the Sapp and Carter subpopulation of Mexican Americans (which presumably is more integrated into the political economy than the migrants) than they did from the aggregate sample.

TABLE 52

COMPARISON OF TMC AND SAPP & CARTER FINDINGS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGLECT

IS CONDUCT NEGLECTFUL?	Texas All (S & C)	Mex. Am. Mig. (TMC)	Mex. Am. (S & C)
Failure to provide food	97%	99%	92%
Failure to provide education	96%	96%	95%
Failure to provide medical care	94%	98%	92%
Failure to provide clothing	93%	95%	85%
Failure to provide supervision	93%	93%	88%
Failure to provide housing	91%	92%	79%
Failure to provide dental care	85%	83%	73%
Failure to provide religion	70%	89%	69%

ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL AGENCIES

All respondents were asked a series of questions about two sets of social programs. The first set concerned agencies of a general welfare nature such as food stamps and old age assistance. The second concerned agencies specifically concerned with the protection and care of children. Respondents were first asked if they were aware of the service, then if they used it and if so whether they were satisfied with the service. The results concerning welfare programs are reported in Table 53.

The findings show that the respondents had a fairly good awareness of the services available. Most respondents seemed to know about Welfare programs such as Head Start, Health Clinics, Food Stamps and Food Programs.

Actual usage of these social services is somewhat lower. Respondents reported using the same welfare programs that they reported being aware of.

TABLE 53

AWARENESS, USE AND SATISFACTION OF WELFARE PROGRAMS

WELFARE PROGRAM	% Aware	% Use	% Satisfied
Head Start	99%	93%	92%
Food Stamps	98%	86%	84%
Health Clinics	98%	86%	85%
Food Programs	97%	82%	81%
Doctors	95%	77%	76%
Prenatal Care	93%	74%	71%
Welfare	92%	31%	28%
Family Planning	92%	63%	63%
Unemployment Insurance	92%	51%	46%
Social Security	91%	17%	16%
Medicaid	89%	23%	22%
Dental Clinics	89%	52%	50%
Medicare	87%	17%	16%
Day Care Center	86%	25%	24%
Manpower Program	78%	25%	21%
Old Age Assistance	78%	4%	4%
Supplemental Security Income	70%	6%	6%
Texas Rehabilitation	65%	9%	8%

Curanderos	63%	8%	7%
Family Counseling	62%	11%	11%
Workman's Compensation	58%	9%	8%

TABLE 54

AWARENESS, USE AND SATISFACTION OF CHILD PROTECTIVE SERVICE PROGRAMS

Program	% Aware	% Use	% Satisfied
Adoption Services	85%	4%	3%
Foster Care	83%	3%	3%
Child Protective Services	74%	6%	4%
Homemaker Services	56%	7%	7%
Emergency Child Care	54%	6%	5%

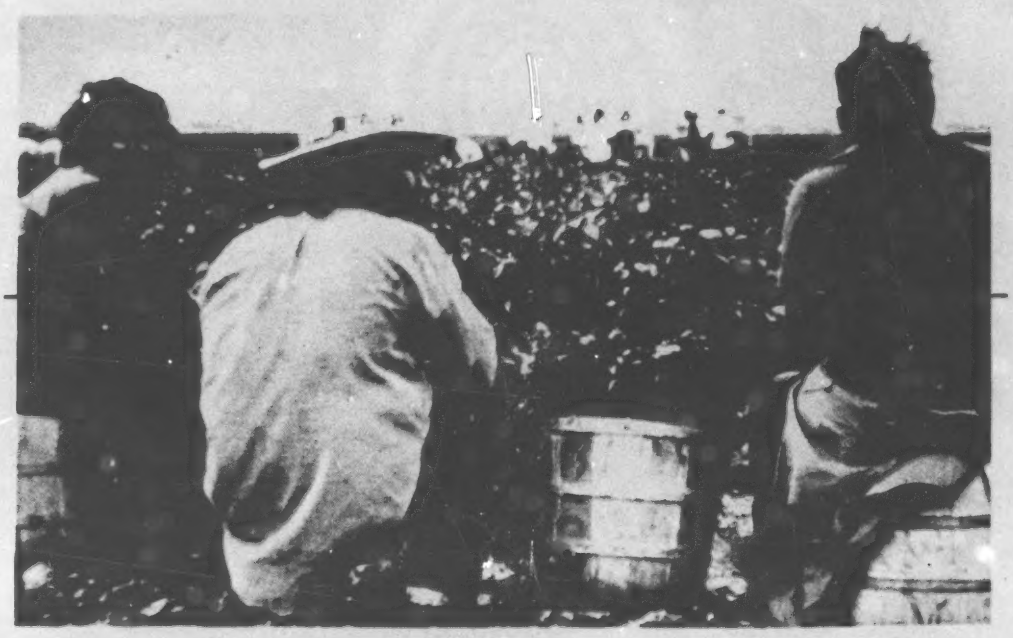
In Table 54, most respondents reported that they were aware of services for children like: Child Protective Services, foster care, and adoption. Only a little over half of the respondents indiccated that they were aware of homemaker services and emergency child care services. Of those who stated that they had used these agencies, 18% indicated that they had helped and 85% said they would use the services again. Over 96% stated that they would recommend the services to others.

SUMMARY OF MAIN HYPOTHESES AND FINDINGS

A theme underlying a number of hypotheses advanced in an earlier section of this report is the testable supposition that migrants familiar with state services in the area of child abuse would be both favorably disposed toward their utilization and less tolerant toward child abuse than those less familiar. Another central theme underlying a number of hypotheses is the idea that the retention of traditional Mexican-American cultural and social values may account for lower levels of tolerance toward abuse among the migrant population. Effective measurement of the first set of hypotheses is made difficult by the overwhelmingly large proportion of respondents who indicated they approve of state intervention (97%) and the large number that assured the interviewers of their awareness and relative satisfaction with state services concerned with child abuse. There were, however, statistically significant cross references for testing the impact of traditional values and sub-cultural cohesion on attitudes toward abuse.

The large number that accepted and approved of the state's role in dealing with child abuse has

limited the significance of the hypotheses requiring cross tabulations with those who did not approve of the state's role, the primary finding is consistent with findings and conclusions of other studies of comparable populations. In an earlier study for the Texas Migrant Council, 79% of the "discovered" clients of migrant caseworkers analyzed, regularly turned to social service agencies for help during a family crisis.[13] This habit of dealing with public agencies contrasted significantly with lower levels of involvement in extended family relations.



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In their study of attitudes toward child abuse in the Los Angeles Metropolitan area, Giovannoni and Becerra found no significant ethnic differences among Anglos', Hispanics', and Blacks' attitudes on how and by whom child abuse should be managed.[14]

All of the studies, including the present one and that of Sapp and Carter, indicate a measurably lower level of tolerance toward various forms of child abuse among lower income Hispanics and a general acceptance of the state's role in dealing with the problems of child abuse.

The hypothesis that lower socio-economic status would correlate with a greater tolerance of child abuse among Mexican American migrants was not substantiated. Income, perhaps because the levels were homogeneously low compared with those of other populations that have been studied, did not prove a significant variable.

There was limited evidence, however, that lower educationl status is consistent with lower levels of tolerance toward abuse among Mexican American migrants (See Tables 55 & 56).

TABLE 55

MIGRANT ATTITUDES TOWARD PHYSICAL ABUSE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN PROVIDER OF FAMILY

	Percentage Answering Yes		
IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Less than 6 years schooling	6 - 9 years schooling	over 9 years schooling
Spanking child with coathanger	99%	98%	94%
Pulling a child's hair	98%	93%	87%
Slapping child in face	97%	91%	86%
Spanking child with wooden paddle	96%	88%	78%
Pinching a child	90%	81%	64%
Violent shaking of child	89%	79%	78%
Spanking child with belt	60%	57%	41%
Spanking child with hand	28%	26%	14%

TABLE 56

MIGRANT ATTITUDES TOWARD EMOTIONAL ABUSE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN PROVIDER OF FAMILY

	Percentage Answering Yes		
IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE? :?	Less than 6 years schooling	6 - 9 years schooling	over 9 years schooling
Tying a child to a chair	99%	96%	96%
Humiliating a child	98%	94%	94%
Cursing at a child	97%	90%	90%
Locking a child in a room	91%	86%	87%
Threatening a child	85%	82%	74%
Scaring a child	82%	74%	74%
Making a child sit in a chair for a long time	78%	68%	64%

TABLE 56 CONTINUED

IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Percentage Answering Yes		
	Less than 6 years schooling	6 - 9 years schooling	over 9 years schooling
Putting a child in a corner for a long time	73%	68%	63%
Yelling at a child	64%	57%	41%

In the case of sexual abuse, all educational levels represented in the sample indicated comparably low levels of tolerance on most items used to measure this attitude. The item that showed significant variance was the one tabulating attitudes toward kissing unrelated children. On this item, 67% of those respondents of families with a main provider of less than 6 years of schooling answered "yes" when asked if the behavior constituted sexual abuse of a child. In cases where the main provider had 6 to 9 years of schooling the rate dropped to 58% and down to 42% for those with main providers with over 9 years of schooling.

TABLE 57

MIGRANT ATTITUDES TOWARD SEXUAL ABUSE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN PROVIDER

IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Less than 6 years schooling	6 - 9 years schooling	over 9 years schooling
Making two kids have sexual relations	100%	98%	99%
Forcing child into intercourse	100%	99%	99%
Making child pose nude before an adult	99%	99%	98%
Parent having sexual relations with own child	99%	99%	100%
Touching childs sex organs	99%	99%	95%
Showing child pornographic photos	97%	98%	97%
Photographing child nude (not an infant)	96%	97%	99%
Kissing unrelated child	67%	58%	42%

On items measuring child neglect, the differences are not statistically compelling when viewed separately; but it is notable that the low educational level of the main providers tracks overall with a low level of attitudinal tolerance toward child neglect (See Table 58). Table 58 indicates that lower levels of education recorded lower levels of tolerance (in most cases) toward failure to provide adequate food, supervision, etc.

TABLE 58

MIGRANT ATTITUDES TOWARD CHILD NEGLECT BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAIN PROVIDER

IS FAILURE TO PROVIDE ADEQUATELY, NEGLECTFUL?	Percentage Answering Yes		
	Less than 6 years schooling	6 - 9 years schooling	over 9 years schooling
Enough food	100%	98%	97%
Medical care	99%	98%	95%
Enough clothing	98%	94%	93%
Dental care	98%	92%	88%
Schooling	98%	96%	95%
Adequate housing	96%	90%	90%
Supervision of child	92%	93%	95%
Religion	95%	88%	85%

Finally, it can be stated that the data in this study found no basis to confirm the hypothesis that lower socio-economic status within the relatively low socio-economic class of migrants correlates with a higher tolerance or acceptance of child abuse. So far as there were statistically notable patterns or disjunctures, they seemed, instead, consistent, with a different conclusion reached by Giovannoni and Becerra who found that "individuals of lower socio-economic status (in this study) generally saw mistreatment as more serious than did those of higher socio-economic status."[15]

As noted above, familiarity with, satisfaction with and acceptance of state agencies in dealing with the problems of child abuse were so high among the respondents that contrasts with those who unfamiliar, dissatisfied or unaccepting did not prove fruitful. One question, however, that reliably indicated a difference in terms of institutional trust was the query of where abused children should be placed once they are removed from their parent's home. Those that preferred the idea of leaving the placement of children to social welfare agencies registered somewhat lower levels of tolerance for a number of items used to measure attitudes toward physical and emotional abuse then did those who suggested placing the children in either an ethnic specific home or with one grand-parent or the other (See Tables 59 and 60).

TABLE 59

MIGRANT ATTITUDES TOWARD PHYSICAL ABUSE BY WHERE ABUSED CHILDREN SHOULD BE PLACED

	Percentage Answering Yes				
IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Social Welfare Agencies	Anglo Foster Home	Mother's Parents	Father's Parents	Foster Home
Pulling child's hair	99%	93%	94%	94%	86%
Spanking child with paddle	95%	80%	89%	94%	73%
Violent shaking of child	92%	87%	78%	85%	74%
Pinching child	86%	80%	79%	90%	62%
Spanking child with belt	56%	53%	52%	57%	47%
Spanking child with hand	30%	33%	16%	28%	25%

TABLE 60

MIGRANT ATTITUDES TOWARD EMOTIONAL ABUSE BY WHERE ABUSED CHILDREN SHOULD BE PLACED

	Percentage Answering Yes				
IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Social Welfare Agencies	Anglo Foster Home	Mother's Parents	Father's Parents	Foster Home
Humiliating child	100%	93%	94%	97%	91%
Locking child in closet	99%	87%	100%	97%	100%
Cursing at child	98%	87%	94%	97%	82%
Locking child in room	95%	93%	86%	83%	90%
Threatening a child	82%	93%	84%	82%	78%
Putting child in corner	82%	47%	71%	74%	57%
Making child sit a long time	81%	60%	74%	75%	60%
Scaring a child	75%	80%	79%	81%	78%
Yelling at child	73%	40%	51%	53%	43%

Except for the questions of kissing unrelated children, the items used to measure attitudes toward sexual abuse did not have any significant variation in terms of accepting or not accepting state intervention. Kissing an unrelated child was a behavior tolerated by more of those who strongly disapproved state intervention than by those who approved state intervention. Of those who recommended turning an abused child over to social welfare agencies, 66% regarded kissing an unrelated child to be a form of sexual abuse along with 63% of those favoring the father's parents, 60% of those preferring the mother's parents, and only 39% of those favoring placement in a Mexican American foster home.

The variables used to assess the importance of traditional Mexican American values seem to offer the most comprehensive overall explanatory cohesion in accounting for relative differences in attitudes toward child abuse among Mexican American migrants in the study. Among the variables used to discern traditional values, however, a distinction is apparent.

The questions used to measure the importance of extended family and neighborhood ties were not as important in relation to different attitudes toward abuse as was the more distinctly cultural factor of language use. This latter finding is consistent with Giovannoni and Becerra's finding in Los Angeles that Hispanic respondents, especially those who were Spanish speaking and of low income, almost invariably rated vignettes depicting sexual abuse and physical injury to children as more serious than their Black or Anglo counterparts. [16]

Noting that migrant families showed a remarkable resilience to the dibilitating impact of adverse economic and social conditions once stress was reduced, Lex Berrios reasoned that family integration into communities (barrios) plus Mexican American cultural emphasis on strong family ties may operate as intervening variables explaining this success and why migrants generally exhibited "relatively low levels of child abuse per se" despite severe economic hardships.[17]Accordingly, in the current study it was hypothesized that the more integrated into the neighborhood families were, the less tolerant they would be of child abuse. The tests used for the hypothesis, however, were not very instructive. Correlations between the question of the willingness to report abuse with the extent to which migrant families meet with their compadres, get together with their neighbors or meet with their relatives in the same city or barrio were statistically insignificant and lacked cohesive pattern of contrast. The attitudes toward child abuse were uniform for those who get together with their neighbors frequently and those who do not. Similarly, attitudes toward sexual and emotional abuse of children as well as views on child neglect did not contrast significantly in terms of relative measures of integration into the neighborhood or family.

There were some notable differences in attitudes toward abuse when contrasting respondents acccording to whether they preferred traditional, new or both traditional and new child rearing methods. However, the differences noted do not speak of the importance or lack of importance of "traditional" values. Rather the findings suggest that respondents with a clear preference for either old or new ways of rearing their children are both somewhat less tolerant toward abuse than those who are more ambiguous in their child rearing methods. While ther is no significant difference to be reported in terms of attitudes toward neglect and sexual abuse by this variable, Table 61 indicates some variance in terms of attitudes toward spanking and some items of emotional abuse.

TABLE 61

ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTED CATEGORIES OF ABUSE BY PREFERRED METHODS OF CHILD REARING

IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Percentage of Child Rearing		
	Traditional Methods	New Methods	Both Methods
Scaring a child	78%	86%	74%
Placing child in corner for long time	68%	77%	63%
Yelling at child	64%	58%	49%
Spanking with hand	30%	28%	18%

In related data on child rearing a correlation at the significance level of .000 was found in matching perceptions of lenience and strictness in the reported practices of the respondents' parents with those of the respondents themselves. In respect to this test of the second hypothesis that the more strict the person's parents the more strict the person will be with his own offspring – there is limited corroboration in the data.

That is, Table 62 does indicate that the greatest percentage of strict parenting is reported by that cohort that also indicated their parents were strict with them (50%). It is notable, however, that the greatest pattern of consistency is between those who reported that they were reared somewhere in between strictness and lenience and also raise their children that way (82%). On the other hand, those who were raised leniently and those who were raised both leniently and strictly were notable ambiguous as cohorts in the way they preferred to raise their own children. However interesting, these findings on child rearing do not seem to relate clearly to any germane question concerning child abuse.

TABLE 62

MIGRANTS PREFERRED METHOD OF CHILD REARING BY METHOD USED BY PARENTS

	Respondent's Parent's Method of Rearing			
Respondent's Method of Rearing	**% Lenient**	**% Strict**	**% In Between**	**% Both strict and lenient**
Lenient	38%	4%	0%	20%
Strict	38%	50%	14%	33%
In Between	22%	35%	82%	27%
Both strict and lenient	3%	12%	4%	20%

A correlation that does track in ways that suggests the importance of cultural traditions is the relationship found between the use of Spanish and attitudes toward abuse.

As indicated in Table 63, (on page 68) the respondents who report using Spanish only or mostly Spanish in their homes consistently reported lower levels of tolerance toward physical abuse on 8 items than did either those who reportedly use both languages equally or use English either only or mostly. This contrast is, of course, particularly significant in contrasting the two large cohorts: "Spanish only" (260) and "Both Equally" (170).

TABLE 63

ATTITUDES TOWARD PHYSICAL ABUSE BY LANGUAGE USED IN THE HOME

	Percentage Answering Yes				
IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Spanish Only	Mostly Spanish	English Only	Mostly English	Both Equally
Spanking child with coathanger	98%	100%	92%	100%	95%
Pulling child's hair	97%	97%	75%	67%	88%
Slapping child in face	97%	87%	58%	83%	91%
Spanking child with paddle	95%	92%	33%	83%	79%
Pinching child	92%	70%	25%	50%	69%
Violent shaking of child	90%	82%	75%	68%	71%
Spanking child with belt	64%	45%	25%	33%	43%
Spanking child with hand	34%	8%	8%	0%	14%

A similar pattern is also apparent in contrasting attitudes toward emotional abuse by language usuage patterns as illustrated in Table 64 on next page.

TABLE 64

ATTITUDES TOWARD EMOTIONAL ABUSE BY LANGUAGE USED IN THE HOME

	Percentage Answering Yes				
IS CONDUCT ABUSIVE?	Spanish Only	Mostly Spanish	English Only	Mostly English	Both Equally
Humiliating child	99%	94%	75%	100%	91%
Cursing at child	95%	95%	92%	83%	88%
Locking child in room	91%	87%	83%	67%	85%
Threatening child	83%	81%	58%	67%	81%
Scaring child	81%	70%	92%	67%	74%
Making child sit for long time	77%	73%	42%	17%	65%
Putting child in corner	73%	76%	42%	17%	64%
Yelling at child	64%	62%	25%	33%	42%

TABLE 65

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGLECT BY LANGUAGE USED IN THE HOME

	Percentage Answering Yes				
IS FAILURE TO PROVIDE, NEGLECT?	Spanish Only	Mostly Spanish	English Only	Mostly English	Both Equally
Enough Food	100%	97%	100%	83%	97%
Medical Care	99%	100%	83%	100%	97%
School	99%	97%	100%	83%	93%
Dental Care	97%	90%	75%	100%	88%
Enough Clothing	97%	97%	83%	67%	92%
Supervision	95%	92%	83%	67%	92%
Adequate Housing	94%	97%	58%	67%	89%
Religion	93%	82%	67%	100%	87%

Four items noting attitudes on child neglect as abuse (the failure to provide adequate housing, dental care, supervision and religion) also track by language use and in a pattern consistent with the tables on physical and emotional abuse.

TABLE 66

ATTITUDES TOWARD SEXUAL ABUSE BY LANGUAGE USED IN THE HOME

IS BEHAVIOR ABUSIVE?	Percentage Answering Yes				
	Spanish Only	Mostly Spanish	English Only	Mostly English	Both
Showing child pornographic pictures	100%	97%	100%	100%	94%
Parent having sex with own child	99%	97%	100%	100%	99%
Forcing two children to have sexual relations	99%	100%	100%	100%	99%
Touching child's sex organs	99%	100%	92%	100%	95%
Making child pose nude (before an adult)	98%	100%	100%	100%	98%
Forcing child into sexual intercourse	97%	100%	100%	100%	98%
Photographing child nude (not an infant)	97%	97%	92%	100%	97%
Fondling child's ser organs	93%	92%	100%	83%	91%
Kissing unrelated child	66%	54%	25%	33%	45%

In the case of sexual abuse, the only significant variance, once again, was recorded in attitudes toward kissing an unrelated child. Those that were closest to Spanich dominance were relatively less tolerant of the practice. Of the large number who reported using Spanish only, 66% considered kissing an unrelated child a form of sexual abuse. In the case of those who used mostly Spanish the percentage was 54%; it was 45% for those who used both languages equally, 33% for mostly English speakers, and 25% for the few English only speakers.

Another finding that suggests the importance of cultural variables in explaining the relatively low level of tolerance toward child abuse among Mexican origin migrants is the pattern of correlation between attitudes toward abuse and preferred terms of ethnic or national self-identification. That is, those who preferred to be called "Mexicans" (47% of the sample) recorded consistently higher scores in identifying behaviors they considered abusive than did those in the sample who preferred the more assimilationist self-identifiers of either "Mexican-American" (33%) or "Spanish Speaking American" (20%). Moreover, the comparability of those answering yes on all the items used to measure attitudes toward abuse is notably parallel between dominant Spanish speakers and those who preferred to be called "Mexicans" on the one hand, and between dominant English-speakers and those who preferred being called Mexican-Americans or Spanish-Speaking Americans on the other hand. (See Table 67). This parallelism was alos striking on an item by item basis for each of the forms of abuse measured.

TABLE 67

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS INDICATING THAT DESCRIBED BEHAVIORS CONSTITUTED ABUSE BY LANGUAGE AND SELF-IDENTIFIERS

	Language Group		Self Identification Group		
	Mostly Spanish	Mostly English	Mex.	Mex. Am.	Spanish Speaking American
Avg. Neglect as Abuse Score	96%	91%	96%	92%	93%
Avg. Sexual Abuse Score	94%	90%	95%	91%	91%
Avg. Emotional Abuse Score	87%	79%	87%	79%	83%
Avg. Physical Abuse Score	87%	77%	87%	79%	81%

It should be noted that while language preference and preferred labels of self-identification are related, they are nevertheless independent variables that can be accordingly understood among people of Mexican origin in the United States as separate dimension of traditional versus assimilationist cultural tendencies. Of those who preferred to be called "Mexicans" 80% spoke either all or mostly Spanish while the remaining 20% spoke either all or mostly English. Conversely, of those who preferred to be called "Mexican-Americans", 47% reported speaking all or mostly Spanish with the majority (53%) indicating a preference for English speaking. Linguistically ironic but culturally consistent is the finding that 58% of those who preferred to be called "Spanish-Speaking Americans" preferred speaking English over Spanish according to the cross-tabulations.

CONCLUSIONS

Drawing conclusions from a study of this magnitude is an arduous task at best. In some cases the data speak quite clearly and in others one must be somewhat speculative and cautious.

As to the descriptive facts, the information is self-evident. Mexican-American migrants are poor, low skilled individuals with large, extended families. They tend to have low levels of education and low mobility outside of their migration pattersn.

Their child rearing patterns follow those of their parents and their interaction with their offspring is somewhat limited. They use a variety of rewards and punishments with their children and they consider obedience an important lesson for their children to learn.

Their attitudes toward abuse and neglect are generally ones of low tolerance. They feel that although there is some abuse in their community, they tend not to report it.

Their attitudes toward social agencies is quite positive but their level of use of these same agencies is low. They do feel that abusive action is best dealt with by the state.

When migrant attitudes toward abuse and neglect are compared with the general population of Texas, it appears that migrant tolerances toward this behavior is considerably lower in certain areas. This lower level of tolerance is apparently due to traditional Mexican American values and practices. There is little evidence that income or social economic status has any effect on tolerance levels among Mexican American migrants. Income, perhaps because the levels were homogeneously low compared with those of other populations that have been studied, did not prove a significant variable. There was limited evidence, however, that lower educational status was consistent with lower levels of tolerance toward abuse among Mexican American migrants.

What is quite clear is that differences do exist and these diffeeences should be explored in more detail. A deeper investigation into patterns of abuse along the methodological lines of the Berrios Study could prove quite useful in this regard. In addition, a survey which would probe the differences found in this investigation could assist in broadening the knowledge concerning this phenomenon.

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END NOTES

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9. Governor's Office of Migrant Affairs, Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Population Survey (Austin, Texas, 1976).

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12. Sapp and Carter, Child Abuse in Texas. Information and data used for these comparisons were raw data supplied by the authors.

13. Berrios, Child Abuse and Neglect.

14. Giovannoni and Becerra, Defining Child Abuse.

15. Ibid., p. 189.

16. Ibid., p. 184-209.

17. Berrios, Child Abuse and Neglect., p. 34-38.